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Occasionally at meetings of classical teachers the opinion is expressed that Caesar's Gallic War does not offer suitable material for second year pupils in the High School; there are even those who entertain the conviction that this time-honored work should be banished wholly or in part from the Tenth Grade curriculum and that something more 'interesting' and less difficult should be substituted. The objection may be valid, if it is based on the amount of reading required in the second year; at any rate some teachers believe that the first four books of the Gallic War represent an amount of text that, considering the advancement of the pupil at that point of his Latin study, is relatively greater than the amount of reading required in either of the last two years of the High School.

The objection to the Gallic War could not, however, be based on a lack of human interest in the story which Caesar tells. In the first place, the pupil should realize that this is a precious document of history. We have in the Commentaries the earliest detailed narrative of the events that were transpiring in those northern lands which we now call by the familiar names of France, Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, England, and Western Germany, and at so early a time as the middle of the first century B. C. Of previous events the scattered statements of earlier writers give us only glimpses, but the extended narrative of the Gallic War raises the curtain upon the stage of northern European history and we see the peoples living there, we learn the names of their cities with their geographical relations, we discover much about their religion and their social and political institutions, and, while we observe that at the coming of Caesar the Gauls had not yet attained national unity, we find that during the course of the war they took the first steps toward an amalgamation of their national forces under the leadership of a man who is justly honored in France to-day as her national hero, Vercingetorix. As a book of history the Gallic War is thus a work of supreme interest.

Moreover, it is not, as it is sometimes described, merely the account of a series of Roman victories. It is true that the disciplined legionaries proved superior on most occasions to the less steady Gauls, but the reason for this is obvious. Far more than a mere record of his successes Caesar's Commentaries are a story-book of adventure and conquest, of fighting and of brave deeds, such as appeal to the normal boy,

if he gets the right point of view. For the average American boy is not dull; on the other hand, one is sometimes forced to wonder if most teachers really understand and can convey to their pupils the significance and the deep human interest of this great historical work.

The literary style of the Commentaries is clear; its Latinity, as might be expected, conforms to the best standard. There are but few passages of sound text in the Gallic War where we do not know precisely the author's meaning. Furthermore, Caesar constantly holds the interest of his intelligent reader; his narration is vivid. There is nothing in Latin prose literature that in my opinion is more dramatic and grips the reader's attention more strongly than the account in the fifth book of the manner in which Cicero held his diminutive camp against the schemes of the wily tempter, Ambiorix, and managed to get a despatch through to Caesar, who promptly brought relief. The scene in which the great leader affectionately greeted his weary men after the siege stands out vividly in this inspiring tale. The High School pupil will take a more lively interest in the story of the Gallic War, if he is permitted to read this selection, and also the closing chapters of the seventh book describing the siege of Alesia; an obvious advantage to the pupil in reading the latter is that he will find how the war really ended and will be able to view the struggle in its entirety. It is not to be expected that his interest will be held if he reads but one half of the story in sections of forty lines each, whose relation to the whole is not made clear to him.

Finally, the story of the Commentaries is one of absorbing interest and pleasure on account of the results of excavations and the investigations of the topography of the war. It thrills the imagination to think that after the passing of twenty centuries it is still possible to identify beyond reasonable doubt several of Caesar's camp-sites and battlefields. In the visualization of the war it is a matter of profound interest to the student to know that there are places where he may stand to-day and say with confidence, 'Here occurred this particular incident described in the Commentaries'; and he may read there Caesar's own description of the surrounding country or his narration of the events of battle. The camp on the Aisne river, for example, was excavated by Colonel Stoffel under the direction of Napoleon III, and

accurate information was thus obtained concerning the size, dimensions, gates, and entrenchments of the Caesarean camp. It is indeed a wonderful revelation that after so long a time the outlines of a Roman trench should be visible to our eyes. How this is made possible is explained in the opening pages of Holmes's *Caesars's Conquest of Gaul*. What Tenth Grade pupil in Latin, no matter how dull, would not be thrilled to see the objects that came from the trenches of Alesia? Swords that were wielded by the strong arms of Caesar's soldiers, heads of pikes and spears, the *stimuli* that formed part of the supplementary fortifications of the Roman position, coins of Gauls and Romans, the beautiful silver vase make the war seem a real war and the history of it real history. Good photographs of objects discovered in the course of excavations and views of the battlefields are easily obtained.

From every point of view the Gallic War should continue to be read in the second year of the High School and we, who are teachers, should strive more than ever to interpret this great history to our pupils as its importance deserves. W. D.

#### A CONSIDERATION OF SOME MODERN VERSIONS OF THE HARMODIUS HYMN

A brilliant and finished short poem in a foreign tongue is always a challenge to an appreciative reader: the Odes of Horace have been the despair of translators in every succeeding age and land. It is interesting sometimes to compare the various attempts of many poets to express in their own tongue and idiom the elusive though clearly expressed thought of some ancient bard. Such a study serves to reveal not only the difficulties attendant upon verse translation; it often indicates, as no other method could, the amazing possibilities of accurate and yet polished rendering of the thought of one language in the words of another. A typical case in point is that of the well-known Harmodius Hymn—the national anthem of ancient Greece. This paper seeks to present and briefly to appraise some English poetical renderings of that popular *σκόλιον*.

The so-called *σκόλια* of the Greeks were drinking songs or catches sung at banquets. It was a custom, whose origin is ascribed to Terpander<sup>1</sup>, to pass round the table a lyre, or sometimes a myrtle-bough, and those to whom it came were expected to sing for the entertainment of the company<sup>2</sup>. Often one guest would improvise a stanza and the person to whom he passed the lyre or myrtle-branch would be required to match it by another on the same theme<sup>3</sup>. The name applied to these efforts, *σκόλια μέλη*, is

evidently derived from the adjective *σκολιός*, and means literally 'crooked songs', but the origin of the term was a subject of dispute even in antiquity<sup>4</sup>. It was variously conjectured e.g. that it arose from the fact that the order in which the banqueters sang was irregular, since each participant passed the branch to anyone he wished, or that the irregular metrical structure was responsible for the name. The fact that there were various kinds of drinking songs, and that the *σκόλια* underwent change in the lapse of time renders it very difficult if not impossible to discover the original signification of the term. All drinking songs, moreover, were not extemporaneous productions; yet they are all called *σκόλια*.

Athenaeus has preserved a rich collection of Attic *σκόλια* dealing with a variety of subjects, grave and gay. They are simple in structure, often serve to portray some well-known event, and may be regarded as in a way the popular songs of Greece. This fifth century *Kommersbuch* contains many notable songs, but the gem of the entire collection is the so-called Harmodius Hymn, found in Athenaeus 15.50 (695 B). This was by far the most celebrated in ancient times and has been aptly termed the Marseillaise of Athens—a true Song of Liberty. Not only are there frequent allusions to it in classical literature<sup>5</sup>, but we are told that it was sung at almost every banquet and that the expression 'he shall sing Harmodius with me' was equivalent to saying 'he shall be my guest'. The traditional author, whose name has been handed down by Hesychius<sup>6</sup>, is a certain Callistratus, who is otherwise unknown. As given by Athenaeus, the Harmodius Hymn is as follows:

Ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω,  
ὥσπερ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων,  
ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην  
ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην.

Φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι, οὐ τι πον τέθηκας,  
νήσσοις δ' ἐν μακάρων σέ φασιν εἶναι,  
ἵνα περ ποδώκης Ἀχιλεὺς,  
Τυδείδην τέ φασι τὸν ἐσθλὸν [Διομήδεα].

Ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω,  
ὥσπερ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων,  
ὅτ' Ἀθηναίης ἐν Θυσίαις  
ἄνδρα τύραννον Ἰππαρχον ἐκαινέτην.

Αἰεὶ σφῶν κλέος ἔσσειται κατ' αἶαν,  
φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδιε καὶ Ἀριστογείτον,  
ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην  
ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην.

<sup>1</sup>See Plutarch, *De Musica* 28; Pindar, *Frag.* 125 [91], in Christ's edition; Plato, *Gorgias* 451 E.

<sup>2</sup>See Aristophanes, *Nubes* 1354 ff., 1364, and the Scholia there.

<sup>3</sup>For an illustration of this custom see Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1221-1248.

<sup>4</sup>See Athenaeus 15 (694 A ff.).

<sup>5</sup>See, for example, Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* 980, 1093; *Vespae* 1225; *Lysistrata* 632; Antiphanes, *Frag.* 4 (Kock 2, p. 14).

<sup>6</sup>s.v. Ἀρμόδιον μέλος.



The well-known historical event<sup>7</sup> on which the song is based may be described briefly as follows. Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens, was succeeded by his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus. Harmodius, a young man of noble family, and Aristogeiton, an intimate friend, formed a conspiracy to slay the tyrants, taking a few others also into their confidence. The time set for the deed was the Panathenaea, the great festival in honor of Athena. They had planned to kill Hippias first. But when the moment arrived he was found in conversation with one of the conspirators; so, imagining themselves betrayed, the two friends hurried back bearing their swords concealed in the myrtle-boughs which it was the custom to carry in the Panathenaic procession. Suddenly coming upon Hipparchus they slew him. Harmodius was immediately cut down by the guards and Aristogeiton was taken prisoner and afterwards put to death by torture. This took place in 514 B.C.

Though before this time the rulers had been, for tyrants, men of virtue and intelligence, governing the people wisely and mildly, the murder of Hipparchus made his brother Hippias a cruel tyrant, and so after four years of oppression the Athenians drove him out. Remembering these years of suffering, the people of Athens forgot the preceding mild rule, and in later times revered the memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton as patriots and martyrs who had slain the hated tyrant to bring liberty to their native land. No slave might ever be named after them, their families were supported by the state, bronze statues in their honor were set up in the market place, and they received almost divine honor. Cicero refers to them thus in his *Oratio Pro Milone* 80: *Græci homines deorum honores tribuunt eis viris qui tyrannos necaverunt. Quæ ego vidi Athenis! quæ aliis in urbibus Græciæ! quas res divinas talibus institutas viris! quos cantus, quæ carmina! prope ad immortalitatis et religionem et memoriam consecrantur.*

There has been some discussion as to whether the Harmodius Hymn consists of four independent skolia, only the first of which was composed by Callistratus, or if it is to be regarded as a skolon of four strophes. The fact that the scholiast on Aristophanes's *Acharnians* 980 cites the poem as beginning with the words *Φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι* only adds to our perplexity. It seems natural, however, to take the four stanzas together as forming an organic whole. The first two verses of the initial stanza are repeated at the beginning of the third, the last two are also the closing lines of the final stanza. Again, the first and third stanzas deal with the deed itself, the second and fourth with the fame of the heroes in the Blessed Isles and on earth. The arrangement, too, affords

pretty certain proof that even if the four stanzas had each a separate origin they came in time at least to form a united whole. Note the refrain effect caused by the repetition 'like Harmodius and Aristogeiton', as also the other lines that recur, 'when they slew the tyrant and established equal rights at Athens'. The poet deals first with the actual deed itself, then breaks off to express his hopeful assurance that such lives cannot die; in the third stanza he again dwells on the deed which is his theme, and ends with the triumphant cry 'Ever shall your fame abide'.

The motif of the poem is a favorite one among all liberty-loving people the world over—the tyrant-slayer regarded as a hero, and conceived of as transported to the Isles of the Blessed to dwell there in eternal bliss. Naturally such a poem as this, with its martial ring and tone of victory, has been a favorite subject of translation. There are many poetical renderings of the Harmodius Hymn in our own tongue, some of which enter very well into the spirit of the original, while others seem to have missed the true fire of the Greek. At the close of this article will be found a list of translators, together with a citation of the place in which each version may be found. Some of the best of these are well worth quoting here in full, while the others may be passed by with a brief word of comment.

A very good prose version is to be found in the English translation of Duruy's *History of Greece*<sup>8</sup> (2, 1, page 25). Sir William Jones has written An Ode in imitation of Callistratus, which greatly amplifies the original. He strives to make it more realistic by the interpolation of such lines as:

Gods!—how swift their poniards flew!  
How the monster tinged the ground!

Still the ode does not pretend to be a translation, and it is interesting to note that the version found in Gregory's translation of Lowth's *Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* and given as a paraphrase of the poem of Sir William Jones, while not one of the best renderings, is still far from being the worst. Perhaps the most absurd is that of Walsh. Not content with making such words as 'brighten' and 'lighten' rhyme with Aristogeiton, and giving Achilles the epithet of 'swift-heeled', he perpetrates the following stanza in all seriousness as a poetical rendering:

With myrtle wreathed I'll wear my sword,  
As when ye slew the tyrant lord  
Hipparchus, Pallas' festal night on:  
Harmodius and Aristogeiton!

One great fault into which many of the translators fall is that of amplifying the thought too much. So Denman, in one of his versions which is otherwise very good, though a somewhat free rendering all the way through, interpolates the following entire stanza:

<sup>8</sup>History of Greece and of the Greek People, by Victor Duruy, translated by M. M. Ripley (Estes and Lauriat, Boston 1892).

<sup>7</sup>See Thucydides 1.20, 6.54 ff.; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 18; Herodotus 5.55 ff.; Plato, *Symposium* 182 C. Consult also Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 2.795 ff. For a discussion of the discrepancies in the ancient accounts see A. Bauer, *Forschungen zur Griechische Geschichte*, 467 ff.

At the altar the tyrant they seized,  
While Minerva he vainly implored,  
And the Goddess of Wisdom was pleased  
With the victim of Liberty's sword.

Elton's fine poem, while it has in a large measure caught the spirit and the fire of the Greek, has also the fault of being too free. In particular lines, too, as for instance

When they the tyrant's bosom gored,

his rendering is not a happy one. Others again are truly fine, as in the second stanza:

Thy shade, as men have told, inherits  
The Islands of the Blessed Spirits;  
Where deathless live the glorious dead,  
Achilles fleet of foot, and Diomed.

The version by J. L. E. given in Blackwood's is also rather a paraphrase than a translation. Take for example the following lines:

When they the tyrant victim slew,  
And set their native Athens free,  
And gave her laws equality.

and

What time the tyrant bow'd before  
Minerva's consecrated fane—  
He bow'd—and never rose again.

And surely the Greek of the thirteenth verse is at once stronger and simpler than his English lines:

Through endless years, the earth around,  
To distant ocean's furthest bound,  
Thy glory, loved Harmodius, shine,  
And, loved Aristogeiton, thine!

For an example of a literal rendering, we give that of Christopher North in full:

Like Harmodius and Aristogeiton,  
The myrtle-wreathed sword  
I'll bear—when Athens' lord they slew,  
And equal laws restored.

Harmodius dear! thou art not dead:  
In the islands of the blest  
Thou art, where swift Achilles  
And Tydides Diomed rest.

Like Harmodius and Aristogeiton,  
With myrtle I'll entwine  
The sword,—when they Hipparchus slew  
Before Minerva's shrine.

For ever, over all the earth,  
Their names shall be adored,  
The men—who Athens' tyrant slew,  
And equal laws restored.

Still this version seems to lack fire and spirit, though one can by no means acquiesce in the author's modest statement that "it is poorly done, and nearly an entire failure".

Cumberland's attempt has the swing and spirit that the above lacks:

He is not dead, our best beloved  
Harmodius is not lost,  
But with Troy's conquerors removed  
To some more happy coast.

Sandford's version too, while it entirely omits the names of the heroes and is a rather free rendering, has a martial ring that is very pleasing:

Wreathed with myrtles be my glaive,  
Like the falchion of the brave,  
Death to Athens' lord that gave,  
Death to tyranny!

Yes! let myrtle wreath be round,  
Such as then the falchion bound  
When with deeds the feast was crown'd  
Done for liberty!

Voiced by Fame eternally,  
Noble pair! your names shall be,  
For the stroke that made us free,  
When the tyrant fell.

Death, Harmodius! come not near thee,  
Isles of bliss and brightness cheer thee,  
There heroic hearts revere thee,  
There the mighty dwell!

One cannot but feel that this is nearer the true spirit of the original than the clumsy lines of Edwin Arnold's version, even though the latter is a more literal translation. "Aristogeiton's and Harmodius' way" seems labored, nor do the closing lines ring true:

Because they killed the wicked king for us,  
All to make this our Athens great and free.

There is a version by Denman given in Smith's History of Greece which has a fine swing but is faulty in single lines. So the opening stanza is admirable:

I'll wreathe my sword in myrtle bough,  
The sword that laid the tyrant low,  
When patriots, burning to be free,  
To Athens gave equality.

But the next two lines

Harmodius, hail! though reft of breath,  
Thou ne'er shalt feel the stroke of death

do not express the Greek writer's thought and have an odd sound when one recalls that Harmodius felt the stroke of death immediately after the commission of the deed. The following lines too are weak:

When at Athena's adverse fane  
He knelt and never rose again.

Wrangham's translation is excellent:

In myrtle wreathed my brand I'll wear;  
So his of old Harmodius bare,  
And his Aristogeiton, when the Twain  
The tyrant slew, and brake their Athen's chain.

Thou art not, dear Harmodius, dead;  
But in those happy isles, 'tis said,  
Where Diomed and fleet Achilles rest,  
'Tis thine to dwell, the Islands of the Blest.

In myrtle wreath'd my brand I'll wear;  
So his of old Harmodius bare,  
And his Aristogeiton; when the Twain  
Hipparchus slew in dread Minerva's fane.

Immortal, over land and sea,  
Still shall thy fame, Harmodius, be,  
And thine, Aristogeiton; ye, dear Twain,  
The tyrant slew, and brake your Athens' chain.

Milman's version too is a splendid one, both as a whole and in the beauty of single lines:

In myrtle wreath my sword I sheathe,  
Thus his brand Harmodius drew;  
Thus Aristogeiton slew  
The tyrant lord in freedom's cause,  
And gave to Athens equal laws.

In myrtle wreath my sword I sheathe,  
Thus his brand Harmodius drew;  
Thus Aristogeiton slew,  
When Athens' holiest festival  
Beheld the tyrant lord, Hipparchus, fall.

In deathless fame thy living name,  
Harmodius! shall for ever shine,  
And, brave Aristogeiton! thine,  
Who struck the blow in freedom's cause,  
And gave to Athens equal laws.

Thou art not dead, thy spirit fled,  
Harmodius! to its sacred rest,  
Among the islands of the blest;  
Where swift-footed Peleus' son, they tell,  
And godlike Diomed forever dwell.

It will be observed that Milman's arrangement of the strophes is not that given by Athenaeus, and in this he loses something of the force of the original. He appears, however, to have caught something of the fire of the Greek, although his five-line stanzas are, perhaps, a trifle long.

Poe's youthful version of this song contains but three notable lines:

In the joy breathing isles of the blest;  
Where the mighty of old have their home—  
Where Achilles and Diomed rest.

In this poem the chief difficulty of translation is caused by the names, which are awkward to handle in an English version. Yet to leave them out, as some have done, and to pass over in silence the names of the heroes whose deed is being sung seems but a weak expedient to avoid the difficulty. It has well been said:

Does not the power of the Greek song dwell in the names and in the proud repetition—the loving iteration—of the names of the destroyers? They are in every stanza—the lines they fill are the words of the spell. Drop them and the charm is broken—the singer absurd, with his myrtle and sword. You might just as well, in translating into another language,

Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled,  
Scots wham Bruce has aften led,

omit Wallace and Bruce, and give us 'the noble and brave'.

Still it cannot be denied that what is probably the finest version of all, considered as an English poem, and one which does truly enter into the spirit of the original more than any other is one which does not attempt to work in the names. Otherwise it keeps close to the Greek, and is especially felicitous in reproducing the verse-repeats. The poem referred to is found in

Felton's *Greece Ancient and Modern*<sup>9</sup>, and is as follows:

Wreathed with myrtle be my glaive,  
Wreathed like yours, stout hearts! when ye  
Death to the usurper gave,  
And to Athens, liberty.

Dearest youths! ye are not dead,  
But in islands of the blest,  
With Tydean Diomed,  
With the swift Achilles, rest.

Yes, with wreaths my sword I'll twine,  
Wreaths like yours, ye tried and true!  
When at chaste Athene's shrine  
Ye the base Hipparchus slew;

Bright your deeds beyond the grave!  
Endless your renown! for ye  
Death to the usurper gave  
And to Athens liberty.

For beauty of expression and true poetic feeling this far surpasses all the rest. If one feels, however, that an English rendering to be a faithful translation must contain the names of the heroes—and the poet says 'ever shall your fame endure upon earth, beloved Harmodius and Aristogeiton'—one may find in Conington's version perhaps the best all-around translation, in that, while it faithfully adheres to the Greek, and cleverly reproduces the repetitions, at the same time it loses none of the original force of expression, but is a spirited, martial song.

In a wreath of myrtle I'll wear my glaive,  
Like Harmodius and Aristogeiton brave,  
Who, striking the tyrant down,  
Made Athens a freeman's town.

Harmodius, our darling, thou art not dead!  
Thou liv'st in the isles of the blest, 'tis said,  
With Achilles first in speed,  
And Tydides Diomed.

In a wreath of myrtle I'll wear my glaive,  
Like Harmodius and Aristogeiton brave,  
When the twain on Athena's day  
Did the tyrant Hipparchus slay.

For aye shall your fame in the land be told,  
Harmodius and Aristogeiton bold,  
Who striking the tyrant down,  
Made Athens a freeman's town.

#### *Poetic Translations of the Harmodius Hymn*

Arnold, Edwin, in *The Poets of Greece*, 133 (Cas-  
sell, Petter and Galpin: London and New York, 1869).  
C. C. C. Oxoniensis, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 34  
(1833), 422.

Conington, in J. A. Symonds's *Studies of the Greek  
Poets*<sup>9</sup>, 1.283 (Adam and Charles Black: London,  
1902).

Cumberland, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 33 (1833),  
884 (see also Gregory's translation of Lowth's *Sacred  
Poetry of the Hebrews*, 1.25).

<sup>9</sup>The translator is W. Peter; see Peter, *The Poets and Poetry of  
the Ancients*, 146.

Denman, in William Smith's *A History of Greece*, 101 (Harper and Brothers: New York, 1871). This translation and another will also be found in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 33 (1833), 885.

Elton, in *Specimens of the Classic Poets*, 1.235 (R. Baldwin: London, 1814). See also *Blackwood's Magazine*, 33 (1833), 885.

J. L. E., in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 34 (1833), 265.

Gregory, G., in the translation of Lowth's *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, 1.24 (J. Johnson: London, 1787).

Jones, Sir William, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 33 (1833), 887.

Milman, H. H., in *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus*, 226 (John Murray: London, 1865).

North, Christopher, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 33 (1833), 884.

Peter, W., in *The Poets and Poetry of the Ancients*, 146 (Carey and Hart: Philadelphia, 1847). See also Felton, C. C., *Greece Ancient and Modern*, 1.371 (Ticknor and Fields: Boston, 1867).

Poe, E. A., in *The Raven Edition*, 353 (P. F. Collier and Co.: New York, 1903).

Sandford, D. K., in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 33 (1833), 886.

Walsh in *Athenaeus* translated by C. D. Yonge, 3.1218 (H. G. Bohn: London, 1854).

Wranham, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 34 (1833), 265.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW.

## REVIEWS

Athenian Lekythoi with outline Drawing in Matt Color on a white Ground. Appendix: Additional Lekythoi with outline Drawing in glaze Varnish on a white Ground. By Arthur Fairbanks. University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Volume VII. New York: The Macmillan Company (1914). Pp. x + 275. 41 Plates. \$3.50.

The literature of Greek vase-painting has been enriched by the recent publication of two important works, which deal with the same theme but treat it in such different ways that the books admirably supplement each other and together furnish a thorough and comprehensive treatment of the Athenian white lekythoi. One of these works is the book under review, the second and concluding volume of Dr. Fairbanks's catalogue of this group of vases, which was published shortly after the appearance of the sumptuous volumes by Dr. Riezler with their excellent textural illustrations and ninety-six superb plates<sup>1</sup>. Dr. Riezler does not aim at any complete presentation of the subject. The limited number of plates permitted merely the selection of the most typical examples, but in the volume devoted to the text he discusses the lekythoi in every phase and from every point of view. So both in this illuminating discussion and in the beauty and accuracy of the plates Dr. Riezler's volumes are a very important adjunct to the usefulness of the catalogue of Dr. Fairbanks.

<sup>1</sup>Weissgrundige Attische Lekythen, nach Adolf Furtwangler's Auswahl, bearbeitet von Walter Riezler. München: Bruckmann, (1914). 2 vols. \$75.

The purpose of the catalogue is to arrange and classify all lekythoi according to size, shape, technique, colors, form of stele, number of figures or nature of drawing. In short any characteristic detail or peculiarity may serve as the distinguishing mark of a certain group. The difficulty in this procedure is apparent, as one of the suggested characteristics in a particular case may neutralize another. That this is a real difficulty may be judged from the fact that in one instance which came to my notice the same lekythos is listed in two different groups, first (page 14, no. 19) under Class IX, Series 1, then on page 85, no. 10 as under Class XI, Series 2. Of course the author is fully conscious of these difficulties and in various cases points out resemblances of individual examples to vases otherwise grouped. Moreover, after subdividing Class XI into three Series he acknowledges (p. 75) that this "division into series is relatively unimportant".

The problem of arranging and dating the white lekythoi arises chiefly from the fact that they were produced within a comparatively short period of time, and that probably in most cases the painting of the scenes and of the other decorations was executed by different hands in the same shop. From this mass of material, then, with characteristics often not well defined the author has made an orderly grouping into sixteen classes, many of which are subdivided into subsidiary Series. At the beginning of the present volume, as in the preceding volume, is given a table of classification of the groups to be presented, which is followed by a conspectus of all Classes discussed in the two volumes of the catalogue, so that a glance reveals the principle of classification and the content of the various groups. The method of handling the individual cases is similar to that used in the first volume. Each lekythos has a number in its Series and Class; its present location is given as well as its height and the work in which it may have been published. Then follows in smaller print a brief technical description of the vase and an account of the painted scene. After this further comment of a more general character, when required, is added in larger type, and a summary is given at the conclusion of each Series and Class. This arrangement is clear and easily followed, but for purposes of general reference a continuous numbering of all vases would have been more convenient.

Dr. Fairbanks seeks to give to each of his classes a date, ranging from the middle of the fifth century for Class IX to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century for the later Classes. These are conservative and plausible dates, but more emphasis should have been laid on the fact that the only positive evidence we have rests on the discovery of one of these lekythoi (X, 1, 21) in a grave on the island of Rhenaia, a fact which after all proves only that the vase must have been made some time before 425 B. C. In connection with this vase reference should have been made to Dr. McMahon's article: *The Technical History of*



white Lecythi, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1907, 32.

The assembling and arranging of a catalogue like this is a tedious and onerous task, and to the author every Greek scholar is under heavy obligation. Indeed, in view of the wide extent of the field and of the large number of items involved it is hardly surprising that discrepancies occur in statements made in different books on the subject. However, it does not seem an impossibility to measure exactly the height of a lektythos: yet in forty-eight instances that have been noticed the height is given differently by Fairbanks and Riezler or Collignon-Couve or some other writer on the subject. Several times three different heights are recorded. So, for example, on page 12, no. 14, Dr. Fairbanks gives the height as .32 m.; it is given by Fröhner as .315 m., by Benndorf as .33 m. On page 167, no. 9, the height is given by Fairbanks as .487 m.; Collignon-Couve gives it as .48 m., Riezler as .478 m.

More seriously disturbing, perhaps, is the recurrence in description of the confusion between the right hand and the left hand, which has been observed seven times, one instance being found on page 169, no. 15 in an account of the scene shown on Plate XXVI, while four others occur in descriptions of plates published by Benndorf in *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*. There are also some differences between Fairbanks and Riezler in the description of scenes. For example on IX, 1, 18 compare Fairbanks, "Near the high end of the boat is a slender standard", with Riezler, Text, p. 135, to plate 80, "Im Raum fliegen zwei Seelchen, ein drittes steht auf dem Ruderstachel des Kahns und fasst klagend mit der einen Hand an den Kopf". Again, in the same paragraph, compare Fairbanks, "Charon . . . holding his thick pole in his right hand and bending over, as he extends his left hand toward the woman", with Riezler, "Charon, der in der L. die Ruderstange zu halten; die R. gegen das Mädchen auszustrecken scheint". Another instance occurs in the description of IX, 2, 24. Riezler devotes to this scene two plates, nos. 44 and 44a, the latter being a good production in color after a painting by M. Gilléron. Both  $\psi\chi\alpha\iota$  do not fly toward the left, as Dr. Fairbanks records, but in each case the  $\psi\chi\eta$  flies away from Hermes, the central figure, while behind Charon other  $\psi\chi\alpha\iota$  appear headed to the right.

As this catalogue is an important book of reference these instances of inaccuracy have been cited in order to indicate that some care must be exercised in its employment. Riezler's book, too, has wrong references and other blunders, but fortunately the works, as far as they are parallel, while supplementing each other in form and matter, also furnish, each of them, the means of testing the accuracy of the other's statements.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

T. LESLIE SHEAR.

*Ancient Civilization: A Textbook for Secondary Schools.* By Roscoe Lewis Ashley. New York: The Macmillan Company (1915). Pp. xxi + 363. \$1.20.

This is a fairly good book, despite the fact that there are scores of mistakes in it. Many of the errors must be due to careless proofreading, and will fall out in a second edition. But there are some more serious mistakes of which a reviewer must take note. The author in but 347 pages covers the history of several thousand years. He tries to put it all in, and in that way, perhaps, has handicapped himself, for sentence-transitions are often jerky, and characterizations, when tried, are sometimes banal. When the author (page 150) calls Pericles "a man of considerable ability", and says (193) that "Thucydides wrote in clear, choice Greek that it is a pleasure to read", the statements seem to have a bit overmuch of the offhand about them. Under the caption Roman Tenements (291) appears a good example of what I have called a bad transition from one sentence to another: "Fires were exceedingly common in Rome and walls were continually giving way. Much of the wheat was exchanged at the baker's for bread but a good deal of the cooking was done at home". The very compactness of the book lends itself to ambiguity at times. In speaking of the Greek oracles Mr. Ashley says (106):

An answer was given in such general language and was so ambiguous that it might easily be construed by an intelligent petitioner to indorse any possible course. Hence we call an expression that may mean more than one thing 'oracular'. The oracle must be considered not only one of the chief bonds of unity among the Greeks, but one of the most important influences in Greek history.

Now, nothing follows in such a statement as this except that the author tells his reader that a chief bond of unity among the Greeks was an oracle which dispensed purposely ambiguous answers. It is the half (or less) statement of the author that makes the whole thing worthless. The repute of the oracles came from their good, straightforward advice. Some oracles fell into disrepute because of ambiguous or prejudiced replies.

The following sentences also seem to mean very little: "Sparta sent an army against Thebes, but the Thebans had discovered a new way of fighting by massing their men several lines deep" (158); "Pompey entered the Holy of Holies. He thus gave Rome a claim to lands in the east Mediterranean coast", etc. (267); "From our point of view the most important event of this period was the work of Jesus Christ in Judea, ending with his crucifixion" (306).

It is hardly a happy description to call a coin a "stamped circle" (117), and it is unfortunate that the illustration on the same page should show a coin that is oval in shape, and not circular. A stickler for accuracy will shake his head at the author's statements (195) about the Parthenon: "This marble

temple. . . is little more than one hundred feet long. A row of beautiful columns with Doric capitals surrounds the building, with double columns at the ends." The size of the Parthenon is really 228.026 feet by 101.254 feet, and there are no such things as "double columns". The author calls Greece the melting pot of ancient civilization (179), and quotes (111) a statement that makes Sicily "the melting pot of the nations". Both statements are open to serious objections. The author says (263) that Gaius Gracchus sought to make himself legal ruler of Rome, and (263) that a senatorial force attacked his followers in the streets, killing him and three thousand of his supporters. Neither statement is quite correct. The author's statement (289) that "women usually remained under the power of their fathers instead of coming under that of their husbands" is quite wrong for centuries of Roman history.

That Scylla and Charybdis were inhabited by sirens (102) will be news; the topographical description of Thermopylae (138) is bad; it is time to give over saying "Mars Hill", which is wrong, for the Areopagus (154); the statement (172) that ships sailed under the Colossus of Rhodes is a medieval fabrication, which ought to have disappeared long since from historical writing.

The author mistakes the god Dionysus for the Sicilian Dionysius. In the Index, Dionysius is called quite properly the tyrant of Syracuse, but when one turns to page 190—the only reference, by the way—one finds Dionysius mentioned twice, but both times wrongly for Dionysus. On page 197 one finds the theater of Dionysius! On page 240 Dionysius is mentioned, and rightly, although the Index does not respond.

It is difficult to understand what the author means (279) by saying that the centre "of the Roman world is still the Forum", and it is wrong to say (279) that distances on the Roman roads were reckoned from the Golden Milestone, because they were reckoned from the gates in the 'Servian' wall.

The illustrations through the book are good and well chosen. I note two mistakes. The frontispiece is not the Acropolis, Athens, restored by D'Ooge, but simply the same frontispiece as that in D'Ooge's *The Acropolis of Athens*, which is a view, from the west, of the Acropolis as it is now. The photograph (294) labeled Baths of Caracalla is instead that of the Porta Asinaria in the Aurelian Wall.

Any author has a perfect right to decide as he pleases about the matter of the spelling of Greek and Latin proper names, and any system is such that even consistency is likely to be a pitfall. It is certain that if any one by subjective method tries to decide that any given spelling has or has not 'obtained', he will go wrong. The author has chosen to use *ae* and *oe* as ligatures. It is quite allowable, but I am sure that such usage is fast becoming obsolete. The new Oxford Classical Texts do not have such ligatures at all.

"Knossos" and "Mycenæ" (103) may perhaps stand side by side, but Conssus and Mycenæ, or Knossos

and Mykenai, have the obvious merit of consistency. "Cleisthenes" (112) is inconsistent with the spelling Phidias, used elsewhere. "Perioici" (113) would be better spelled Perioeci, "Vapio" (101) should be 'Vaphio', "Messena" (243) might be 'Messana', or 'Mes-sene', or 'Messina', but not 'Messena'. "Vespasian" (306, note), and "Pynx" (154) are simply accidental.

The author has gone to much pains, and he is to be praised for it, to mark the pronunciation of the proper names. He has, however, put the accent in the wrong place in a few words. Aristotle is accented one way in the Index and another way on page 164. Nemean (108), Helots (113), Rubicon (219), Cornelius (247) Teutones (264), Varus (274), are accented wrongly.

This review may seem to be a catalogue of errors, and in a way it is. But the book reviewed is good enough to stand criticism, and certainly too good to be allowed to retain a lot of mistakes. Errors of judgment may be condoned, but errors of fact must be challenged.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS  
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RALPH V. D. MAGOFFIN.

In a volume entitled Euripides (third edition, London, 1906), Professor Gilbert Murray included a translation of the Frogs of Aristophanes (pages 177-284), and a Commentary on the Frogs (285-312). This part of the book was published separately, in 1915, as *The Frogs of Aristophanes, Translated into English Rhyming Verse* (136 pages. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 65 cents).

J. W. Mackail's prose translation of the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil appeared in 1915 in a new edition (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 75 cents). "In this re-issue, the translation has been modified so far as was necessary to bring it into accordance with what at present may be regarded as the standard text of Virgil, that of Sir A. Hirtzel in the Oxford Classical Texts".

A book bearing the date 1914 is a volume by John Dennie, *Rome of To-Day and Yesterday: The Pagan City* (G. P. Putnam's Sons). The Preface bears no date. It is quite plain, however, that the book antedates the great discoveries in the Forum, under Boni, and is therefore much behind the times. It is, however, an interesting description, well-illustrated, and very well indexed, of Rome, as the city was known in the early part of the last decade of the nineteenth century. By reading such a book, and then turning to Professor Platner's *Monuments and Topography of Ancient Rome* (Allyn and Bacon, 1911), and Hu'sen-Carter, *The Roman Forum* (1906), one gets a clearer idea of the great changes in our knowledge of ancient Rome worked by the epoch-making discoveries in the last years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth.

C. K.

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